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January 2 1953

FOURPENCE

6 First published in 1936 in association with the work for peace of Canon H. R. L. ('Dick') Sheppard and George Lansbury

EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE FOR

Men who will not use Atom Bombs

Schoolboy tells Mr. Nutting Arms crippling our economy

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

YOUNG people from all over Great Britain filled the Central Hall, Westsidiary of the United Nations Association.

The opening speech was made by Mr. Anthony Nutting (Foreign Under-Secretary), deputising for Mr. Eden, who was busy briefing Mr. Churchill for his trip to the USA.

Mr. Nutting said he felt as if he were addressing a greatly enlarged House of Commons, and in responding to a vote of thanks afterwards, he said it had been clear as conscientious objection within from the questions that the audience had ing of the National Service Act. been listening, and that some of them at least, had understood what he had said.

Mr. Nutting's speech need not be reported here for it was mainly an exposition of the government policy of uniting "the free world" against "the Russian Menace."

NATO as Life Insurance

The many pertinent questions that were to the speaker included one by John Charap, or City of London School, who said: his was not sufficient. I heartily agree win that statement, but surely economic Instab. ity is a certain road to destruction, and our present rearmament programme is

cripping our economy. social services and the standard of hving, rather than to rearm at our present break-neck speed?"

Mr. Nutting: We ought not to rearm to the point of economic instability. There are two questions: one is the question of armed aggression by Communist states; the aggression by Communism the other is the danger of Communism coming in by the back door, through the believed that the recent meeting of NATO is the back and a plan which

NATO in Paris had produced a plan which

would avoid both these dangers.

The second speaker was Mile. Eve Curie,

Assistance of NATO. Mile. Assistant to Lord Ismay, of NATO. Mile. Curie who spoke on "Defence and the Atlantic Community" did her best to Present NATO as an altruistic institution Working for world peace and understanding, and worthy of the enthusiastic support

of the young. There were times, she said, when official government representatives dislosureed on small boints—such as the dislosure of defence to the follow members. fonce information to their fellow members.

aginative than we in NATO, because for any dear than we in NATO, because for any decision we take we have to have the acreement of 14 countries. Non-official people have a great chance if only to appropriate the suppose of the suppos sprend knowledge about NATO, build more

the NATO countries from each other."
Other sessions of the Conference will be reported in Peace News next week.

Their only crime: Born on the wrong side of the **38th Parallel**



The words "United Nations" do not conjure up thoughts of famine control, world health organisation or aid for rer. Words United Nations ramine control, world health organisation or an torrefugees for this grief-stricken Korean. United Nations had passed by on one of their countless raids on North Korean towns—and had taken their toll of children' lives, as bombers always do.

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

YOUNG men who would object to dropping atom and napalm bombs may now be able to secure exemption from military service as the result of an important precedent established at the London Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

Those who would object to fighting in particuar wars, such as those minster, this week for a conference on now being waged in Korea and Malaya or who object to the "cold war" "Europe, 1953," organised by the Council for Education in World Citizenship, a subto conscription into the armed forces

upheld. This precedent was established on Dec. 15 when two conscientions objectors appeal-

ing against decisions of local tribunals were upheld in their "partial" objections to mili-Hitherto Local Tribunals have held that objection to particular wars or wars fought with particular weapons cannot be accepted as conscientious objection within the mean-

The decision of the senior tribunal, presided over by Sir Michael McDonell, KBE, violence, in allowing the appeals of Edward Grant of Birmingham and Gerald Parker of London, both of whom made it clear that they were not opposed to the use of physical force in every circumstance, now amends this interpretation of the Act.

"Neither Washington nor Moscow"

It is to be hoped that Tribunals throughout Britain will bear this in mind when considering cases of "partial" objection in future.

The theme of Edward Grant's political outlook was "Neither Washington nor Moscow." Though only twenty-one, he had been "in politics" for seven years.

Like many other high-purposed youth he had joined the Young Confimunist League

in his teens only to find disillusionment later: "The Party was the catspaw of Russia, it betrayed the cause of international socialism."

He next joined the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyists). In 1948 this group dissolved and some of its members

joined the Labour Party.
Grant was responsible at this time for the founding of "Socialist Review" a Left-Wing weekly strongly condemnatory of imperialism and war. Grant became editor and his wife, a medical student, publisher. He was for the present employed as a nursing orderly in a mental hospital. When asked by a member of the Tribunal what he would do if he were suddenly attacked (a stock question), he was able to reply that it had happened to him occasionally in the similar evidence," the resolution adds, "is

course of his job and he had found that calmness and a refusal to reply with blows had successfully quietened his assailants.

Though Grant was prepared to sanction force in a class war he would only do so when all other means of changing the social order had proved ineffective. It was not a light thing to resort to violence and he believed that the peoples of Malaya and Indo-China would have strengthened their case considerably if they had chosen to combat oppression with the methods of non-

Denis Hayes, LL.B., representing Grant,

Continued back page

IMPORTANT PRECEDENT PACIFIST VICAR IS A GOOD MAN

Mrs. Simpson of Holbrook

FITHE Rev. Cameron Newell, papifist L vicar of St. Peter's, Ipswich, has decided not to accept his bishop's advice to withdraw from his appointment as rector of Holbrook, Suffolk.

"To suggest that sending a pacifist parson to Holbrook is on a par with sending a tectotaller to Burton is to suggest the inhabitants have a war mentality" says Mr. Newell.

Dr. Brook, Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich, has issued a statement in which he says:

"It has been widely suggested that I am not willing to institute Mr. Newell to the benefice of Holbrook because he is a pacitist. This of course, is not true. I would not be legally entitled to refuse institution

* Continued back page

The Germ Warfare Controversy

QUESTION THE AIRMEN

-Science for Peace

week by the National Committee of Science for Peace makes a practical suggestion of something up the germ warfare controversy.

The resolution follows a study by the 'Science for Peace" committee of the report of the International Scientific Commission which went to Korea to investi-gate (the English member of which was Dr. Joseph Needham).

It states that—"The Committee of Science for Peace has considered all the alternative explanations suggested and concludes that . . . there are some incidents for which the most reasonable explanation is that they were the work of hostile air-

RESOLUTION adopted last unlikely to produce a conclusive decision on the truth of the allegations.

"The report includes the names of some 20 men in the United Nations forces who are said to have been involved in those which might be done to help to clear attacks. If these men were located and examined by an international committee appointed by the United Nations, very valuable information would be forthcoming which might do much to clear up the

Dr. Needham replies to Mr. Baker White, MP

N the House of Commons on December 8, Mr. Baker White (C. Canterbury) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he would publish as a White Paper the reports on germ warfare in China by the Japanese sent to his Department in 1944 by Dr. Joseph Needham.

The reply, in a written answer from Mr. Nutting (Joint Under-Secretary) was that no such reports were received.

Peace News asked Dr. Needham to comment on this statement, and has received the following reply:

"The facts, as I remember them, are as follows.

"From the beginning of 1943 until the spring of 1946 I directed the Sino-British Science Co-operation Office (British Scien-tific Mission in China), and during the latter part of that period was concurrontly Counseller (Scientific) in H.R.M. Embassy, Chungking. It was therefore quite natural that I should have had to evaluate the reports which were accumuhting in the Chinese Surgeon-General's Office (Kuomintang of course), on this subject. I was in very close contact with General Robert Lim as an advisor at the

"The report which I made (in 1944 according to my recollection) was cortainly sent in to Chancery, and whether or not it was transmitted to Landon for the files of the Foreign Office I do not know; that would have presumably been at the discretion of the Ambas ador, regular Counsellor and Sucretaries. However, my organisation had its own facal point in London, namely a liaison office operated jointly by the Ministry of Production and the British Council, for war science and peace science matters respectively. Through that office, whatever I sent back reached the appropriate government de-

"It might well bo, therefore, that the place to look for such a document would

not be in the Foreign Office. Naturally, I have kept no copy of the official desputch which I wrote, after leaving the service."

Mr. Baker White, in a letter to the Dully Telegraph following his question in Parliament, claimed that Mr. Nutting's reply bay "disclosed another false statement that is being used in the Communist germ warfare campaign," and said that "as some people are apt to attach weight and importance to persons who speak as experts, it is proper that it should be exposed."

Appalling atrocities in Korea CANON ON ALLEGATIONS MADE IN VIENNA

Evening Advertiser on his meturn from Americans," he continued. undonstanding between allied countries, and the NATO meritang periodices which sometimes estrange and NATO countries are setting to the Vienna Peace Congress, Canon C. F. Harman (Vicar of South Marston) said that whether the three challenging points which ultimate effect upon Russian policy remained to be seen.

The three points (reported in Peace News last week) referred to the retention by Russia of German prisoners taken in the

1939-45 war: the dismissal by Mr. Vyshinsky of the Indian proposals for a truce in Korea; and the "savago sentences" imposed on political offenders in any country.

Prague

Canon Harman said that the third point had originally referred only to the recent political trials in Prague. As the congress had agreed not to refer specifically to domestic matters in any country, Canon Harman took the advice of represent-atives of the British delegation and re-phrased his remarks so that they could

apply to any country in the world.

Canon Harman said he had been appalled by the al-

IN an interview given to the Swindon suffered a revulsion of feeling against the

whether the three challenging points which he raised in his speech would have any

There would immediately be large-scale unemployment among those at present employed in the armament industry.

"This fear could be offset if America were only prepared to revise her economy with a view to supplying the needs of the under-nourished areas of the world.

Canon Harman said that he had returned convinced that there was overwhelming evidence to support allegations of germ warfare by the Americans in Korea and

China.

"This disposition on my part" he said "to believe these reports is strengthened by the fact that America has never ratified the Geneva Protocol on bacteriological warfare.

Canon Harman said that at no time was he aware of any attempt to silence critical opinion on any matter within the purview of the agenda.

"I was also very much moved by the deep respect in which Christian clergy and ministers were held and the evident desire on the part of Christians and non Chris-

tings to hear the Christian point of view.
"It was clear to me from the talks I had with representatives of many nationalities that they were looking for a definite lead from the Christian Church as a whole.

We did not say it ...

We have only to consider what extreme we have only to consider what extreme nationalism has done in Persia and other countries to realise what it would mean to Britain and the Free World if the racialism atrocities in Korea,

"As a result of what I heard I have "Karmer and Stockbreeder, Oct. 9, 1852.

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PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4 STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

2nd January, 1953

VIENNA

THE Vienna Congress has doubtless been useful as an assembly in which people of different nations and political outlooks were able to express themselves and acquaint each other with the fact that there can be a diversity of views as to the best means to peace.

As a Congress, however, it has clearly been a futility.

Most of the things decided upon might very well have been settled by giving an , omnibus approval to the main proposals that have been advanced by Mr. Vyshinsky from time to time at the United Nations.

The Congress decided on a call for a fivepower pact, but there was surely no need for a world gathering at Vienna to add one more declaration in favour of that.

There was a condemnation of the Bonn contractual agreements, a matter upon which pacifists join with the Russians and the Partisans of Peace. There was an endorsement for Mr. Vyshinsky's line on the question of disarmament, and there was a declaration in favour of East-West trade.

The Congress met under two serious handicaps. The great majority of the delegates must have felt a bitter disappointment at the treatment by the representatives of the Cominform States in the United Nations of the Indian proposals for ending the Korean war.

All the members of the British Peace Committee, for instance, and of the local peace committees in this country must have felt, before Mr. Vyshinsky declared himself, that here was being propounded what was essentially the type of negotiating basis that the many simple peace-lovers enrolled as partisans of peace would welcome in their hearts.

Canon Harman's was an isolated voice on this issue but the sentiments he expressed must have received much quiet endorsement in the Congress among those who did not ford they could express themselves with similar freedom.

Nothing of this view came through into the resolutions. Mr. Vyshinsky had already condemned it. He had not only vetoed it as a peace approach that might be under-taken by the Assembly but he had also vetoed it for the Vienna Peace Congress.

However attracted to the Indian proposals may have been the members of the Peace Committees, we knew when Mr. Vyshinsky had spoken that nothing along these lines could possibly meet with approval at Vienna; and those who had been subscribing to send delegates to Vienna, and inscribing their messages in little note-books (of which no one was to take the slightest notice) must have felt that there was something rather indecent in Mr. Vyshinsky's precipitation in getting in his word before the Chinese could pronounce on the subject.



The other handicap under which the Congress met lay in the fact that it was on the morrow of the trial and execution of those cleven men (all doubtless adherents of the World Peace Council) at Prague.

This was not a matter that would come into the Vienna discussions, but the sinister character of this thing that had happened in the camp of those who had had so much to do with the arranging of the Congress inevitably produced doubts and hesitations of those who were not already committed Communists, and probably in the mands of many of those who were.

Had there been genuine freedom of action in the Congress the handicaps we have mentioned might have provided a needful impulse to a really independent declaration. The Mansky-Comentis horror would not have been pronounced upon, but it would have weakened the moral tutelage of the Cominform states; and Mr. Vyshinsky's action might have been roundly condemned and the Congress could have proceeded to the propounding of genuine peace proposals the propounding or genuine peace proposals that would be above, and not part of, the cold war. In the nature of the Congress, however, this could not be.

As it is, the mere isolating of the question of the "cease fire," with a careful evasion of the issues discussed in the Indian proposals.

posals can only lead to bewilderment for the great mass of simple people who have supported the Conference. This kind of thing is inherent in the basis

upon which the Conference was organised and financed. This was not merely another World Peace Congress, it is true; its initiation and organisation was undertaken by the sponsors of the World Peace Congress, however, and it was financed, controlled and actuated by those for whom such a Conference can only have value if the Communist viewpoint is made to predominate. Hence, although Mr. Vyshinsky had brought disfress and disappointment to millions of peace-lovers (partisans of peace and others) throughout the world, no word of disagreement with what Mr. Vyshinsky had done could be permitted to find its way into the conclusions of the Congress.

Christmas Quiz

TO publish a searching and elabarate quiz at Christmas time has become the accepted policy of several newspapers.

These are no doubt meant to while away the extra hours of leisure and to provide those who can answer them with a sense of intellectual superiority—though to many the attempt must be a depressing a depressing experience

The initiative of James Reston of the New York Times has persuaded Mr. Stalin to take part in a Christmas quiz, although apparently it was intended that his answers should be used for a New Year greeting.

Mr. Stalin has had less difficulty than most competitors in answering the quiz, but that may be because the questions were

In most cases answers to a Christmas quiz are published on another page in the same paper, so that competitors can easily refer to them if they are stumped. In the case of Mr. Stalin, since the questions differed little from those put to him by Mr. Elliot Roosevelt in 1947 or by an American cor-respondent in January 1949 and on other occasions since, the answers have been previously published.

Santa Stalin has therefore brought little that is new to the Christmas festivities, though that is not to discount the value of

He still believes that the co-existence of East and West is possible, and, therefore, that war is not inevitable.

Since war is not a natural disaster which happens beyond man's control but is always the result of the deliberate decision of those who hold the destiny of peoples in their hands, it is never inevitable. But it remains true that the logical outcome of the policies which both sides are pursuing

In the face of the policy of containing Communism or even of liberation from Communism, it would be valuable if the leaders of the Western powers would also specifically say that they believe that co-

existence is possible.

In view of the fact that there is widespread and legitimate concern about much that is happening in the Eastern bloc, and that co-existence, while it does not mean an approval of what is believed to be wrong, does involve the refusal to attempt to eradicate what is wrong by the equally wrong method of war, it is of importance to know whether the man in the street believes that co-existence is possible.

It was perhaps not surprising that Mr. Stalin should declare that the sources of tension lie in the policy of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union.

But "cold war" involves two parties, and though Peace News has always opposed the so-called Western defence policy, involving as it does the North Atlantic Pact, the establishment of American air bases and the rearmament of both Japan and Germany, it is clear that aggressive action is not confined to one side.

It would therefore be interesting to know whether Mr. Stalin is really unable to see that Eastern policy appears to Western eyes as aggressive as does Western policy

Why "Big three" should meet

Mr. Stalin has shown that he is as ready to meet Mr. Eisenhower as he was in 1949 to meet Mr. Truman. Neither Mr. Truman nor, for that matter,

Mr. Churchill have, so far as we know, made any attempt to turn that possibility into an actual fact, and indeed we have been given That Greenglass has been sentenced to to believe that Mr. Truman has privately made known his strong disinclination to meet Mr. Stalin.

The possibility of a meeting is now again open, and it is to be hoped that both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Churchill will make the fullest possible use of it.

The necessity for this is emphasised by Stalin's answer to the fourth question, in which he has agreed to co-operate in any new approach designed to bring the Korean war to an end.

It would be easy to ask why in that event Russia turned down the Indian proposals, but it would serve little purpose. If the deadlock in Korea is to be ended by some means other than an extension of the war, a new approach must be made, and it is no use either side standing firm on the con-

dition which the other has already refused.

It was perhaps inevitable, even at Christmas time, that newspapers should repeat the old warning by bidding people beware of the Russian Santa Claus and the presents which he brought, but in this case the matter can easily be put to the test.

If Mr. Stalin's answers are merely propaganda and bluff then it is up to the West to call his bluff and expose the propaganda.

The Western powers will put themselves

entirely in the wrong if they merely try to throw the ball back to Mr. Stalin and expect him to amplify his answers in terms of concrete proposals,

They have become involved in the Christmas quiz. The question to them is "What are you going to do about it?" and upon their answer must largely depend whether 1953 is going to see peace in Korea and the general lessening of world tension.

"Double-talk" not disreputable

THE post-war Constitution of A Japan, constructed under the guidance of General MacArthur, pro-

BEHIND THE NEWS

hibits Japan from ever again having an army, navy or air force.

The relevant clause can only be altered by a referendum of the Japanese people, and, says Mr. Richard Hughes, Sunday Times correspondent, "such an appeal at present would be indiscreet and perilous," in other words it would be likely to go against the removal of these pacifist provisions from the constitution.

As a consequence the Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshida, acting under American pressure, has to pursue the hypocritical policy of saying one thing and meaning another.

He says that Japan is not rearming and has no plans for rearmament while United States tanks and arms are pouring into the country for a new army of 110,000 men who will be called the National Safety Corps, with a lot of similar "double-talk" for the other armed services.

Mr. Richard Hughes, as a good journalist, gives an objective account of what is happening, but no word of moral condemnation comes into, or is permitted editorially to come into, his account; and, of course, the Sunday Times has no word of disapproval for Mr. Yoshida's undemocratic activities and deceitful "double-talk.

What would be the reaction of the Sunday Times to an account of Herr Grotewohl acting and "double-talking" in this way in East Germany?

The Rosenbergs

THE present age is not only one of extreme violence; it is also one in which an extreme degree of moral foulness in personal relationships is encouraged for political and military reasons.

Thus in the recent Prague trials we had the abominable spectacle of a wife calling for the death penalty upon her husband.

This was doubtless under an impulse of extreme fear, but the thing does not become less unpleasant to contemplate on that account.

It is not only in the "iron-curtain" countries, however, that personal self-degradation can be encouraged for reasons of state. The basis of the charges upon which the Rosenbergs were condemned to death for espionage in the USA was a declaration by Mrs. Rosenberg's brother, David Green-

glass, himself under charges of espionage. In the outcome the Rosenbergs were sentenced to douth, while Greenglass was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment, his wife, also involved, not being put under charge.

The execution of the Rosenbergs is fixed for January 12. Although we have referred to the matter before, we feel impelled to draw attention to it again in view of the short time available to secure a reprieve.

We do not know whether or not they have been guilty of the disclosure of secrets relating to the atom bomb. Apart from the interested testimony of their accusers there were numerous unsatisfactory aspects of the trial, and their attorney has been seek-

ing a rehearing.
What is apparent, however, is that these two people have been dealt with on a quite

imprisonment instead of death may not be relevant, as this was probably part of the price for his denunciation of his sister. Harry Gold, however, who was convicted on charges more serious than those against the Rosenbergs was not condemned to death but to imprisonment; and on this side of the Atlantic this also applies to Fuchs and Nunn May (the latter having now been released).

Death dissolves no doubts

President Truman has been urged in some quarters to show elemency in this case to mark the difference between Western legal standards and those of the Cominform

We do not urge this as a reason why the Rosenbergs should be reprieved. Whatever may be the outcome of this case we can be thankful that we have so far nothing in the West that can compare with what we have seen at Prague, or in earlier years in Moscow, for its ruthless disregard for human

We hope the Rosenbergs will not be put to death because their execution would in-dicate a deliberate debasing of western standards, and also because there is so much that is dubious in the evidence upon which they were convicted and in its appraisal by

These doubts that are widely felt will inevitably be strengthened if it is sought to smother them by killing the Rosenbergs.

A principle at stake

TE are glad that the Rev. Cameron Newell has received sufficient encouragement to justify his refusal to accept the advice of the Bishop of St. Edmondsbury and Ipswich, and withdraw his acceptance of the living of Holbrook.

Though normally no clergyman would people.

wish to force his presence on an unwelcoming parish, it is clear in this case that the parochial church council does not necessarily represent the opinions of the parishioners as a whole, and those who may not have been regular charchgoers in the past have a right to consideration as we as those who elect the parochial church

The living is in the gift of the Church Patronage Society who have duly offered to Mr. Newell, though they have not ap parently sent the formal deed of presents tion to the Bishop's legal secretary.

This may well have been awaiting th final decision of Mr. Newell and it is difficult to see how the patrons can now with draw their offer.

The Bishop has not made his case and better by an attempt to discredit Mr Newell. Nor is his assertion that his received to act it was the needed. fusal to act is not based upon the pacific convictions of the Vicar accurate except 1 the most literal sense.

His refusal is based on the resolution the Church Council, but the Bishop's own statement makes it plain that having with drawn a previous objection, the Church Council passed a further resolution because of the statement of Christian pacifism which Mr. Newell made in connection will the recent Remembrance Sunday.

Next step in ipswich

If the Bishop persists in his refusal, who is the next step? No clergyman can enter into a benefice without formal institution but any patron can apply to the High Court for an injunction against a bishop and an order to prevent his continued refusal take the steps necessary to implement their

A bishop could refuse to act on a jud ment of the Court, as the Bishop of Bir mingham did in the early days of his epis copate when he declined to institute clergyman duly presented to him, on grounds that the man in question had refused to give assurances that he would no carry on certain practices which the Bishop believed to be illegal in the Church of England.

The continued refusal of Dr. Barnes W not followed, as it might have been, by an application to commit the Bishop to prisof mained vacant for the statutory period of twelve months after which the Archbishol of Canterbury was able to intervene and institute the vicar privately in his over chapel at Lambeth.

In that case also both parties believed that a matter of principle was at stake.

Since the Birmingham incident the Ben fices (Exercise of Rights of Presentation Measure, 1931, has been passed, which quires the bishop at the request of parochial church council to consult "Diocesan Advisors" (elected under measure) for guidance as to whether should institute or not.

It will be interesting to see what the Bishop will do, and if matters should reach that stage, what the present Archbishop of Canterbury would do in this case to support the principle for which the Rev. Cameron Newell stands.

Myth of the Monarchy

TO one listening to the Queen broadcast on Christmas Day could have appreciated what the present constitutional position of the monarchy is.

Because we have no written constituti it has been possible for the functions of monarchy to undergo a gradual change

response to the changing times.

Though most might recognise that days have passed when the monarchy excised supreme and dictatorial powers, many may still fail to realise how little authority the sovereign still possesses, though this due to the perhaps unconscious desire of the

nation for a symbolic figure rather than an autocratic ruler at their head.

What indeed people want is pageant? rather than power, and that is why they tend to invest the reigning sovereign with all the graces which proposed accounts in the process of the reigning sovereign with all the graces which proposed account in the process of all the graces which properly appertain fairy-land.

True, the Queen is the symbol of unit within the Commonwealth and Empire. unity in diversity as the recent statement of her titles has shown. True, also, that her life is one of exacting service, and one will doubt the sincerity of her request for the prayers of all her people at the time of the Coronation, when she will rededicate herself to the life of governmental has herself to the life of governmental has herself to the life of governmental has he has herself to the life of service which she inherited, and for which she will undon

edly need physical strength and pater Wisdom, too, is a gift we should all well to desire, but the special mention wisdom in connection with the essent needs of the monarchy may give the

impression that the Queen has a vital partoplay in guiding the policy of this country. That is not true. Power has passed from the throne room to Parliament, and the parliament to the Executive, if not independent to a comparatively small group of mell when to a comparatively small group of men by their position as captains of finance senior officers in the senior officers in the Services really dire affairs.

The only rights which remain to monarchy are those of consultation, cour with encouragement for actions approand warning if considered necessary as m result of previous political experience, passage of time has made it impossible the sovereign to have any responsibility the foreign policy or domestic plans shape the relationships of this country others or decide the welfare of our The Ph

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Monarchy

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The United Nations debate on An Ex-serviceman revisits The Indian Resolution on Korea

The Indian peace proposals for ending the war in Korea were debated for two weeks at the General Assembly of the United Nations at Lake Success. The Chinese Government had been previously informed by India of the attempt to end the deadlock. "They made no commitment," Mr. Krishna Menon, Indian delegate at UN said later, "but there was no disapproval indicated." The Chinese Government had made it clear, however, that the principles of India's resolution were entirely opposed to their own basic principles.

Both Mr. Krishna Menon and the Indian Premier, Mr. Nehru, have said that India will continue to struggle in the direction of peace.

From Lake Success, Mrs. Jessie Street has sent Peace News the following summary of eyents up to December 5 when India's proposals were cabled to the Chinese and North Korean governments.

In a cable rejecting the proposals, China's Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai described the resolution as "illegal, unfair and unreasonable." He asked the UN Assembly to rescind its proposal, and called for resumption of the suspended Panmunjom truce negotiations. The negotiators, he said, should first bring about a complete against the superfice of the suspended part of the superfice and the superfice of the superfice of the superfice of the superfice. complete armistice and then refer the question of total repatriation of prisoners to an II-nation commission as proposed in the USSR resolution which was rejected by the Assembly.

Committee I of the General Assumbly Committee I of the General Port for it. Assembly was "Consideration of the Reports of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

The delegates also had before them the Draft Armistice Agreement" which, with the exception of one point, i.e. the repatriation of prisoners of war, had been accepted by both sides at the truce negotiations at Panmunjom in Korea. This Agreement as frequently referred to in the ensuing dehate.

At the beginning of its first meeting, the First Committee adopted a resolution to invite a representative of South Korea to participate in its discussions. It also redecied a resolution to invite a North Korean representative.

Daring the course of the deliberations of the Committee, five resolutions were submitted, the last of them being introduced on November 17, 1952 by Krishna Menon on Schaff of the Indian delegation. This resolution resolution attempted to synthesise most of the main points of the earlier resolutions. Later, the Committee decided to give Priority to the discussion of the Indian resolution.

The armistice negotiations conducted during the past fifteen months at Panmun-Jom had agreed on all points with the exception of whether all prisoners of war should be repatriated or whether they should have the right to choose whether they wantly or not they would return to their country or not.

The Indian resolution concerned itself bring pally with this question of the re-Patriating of prisoners of war, the main theme of the resolution being that force was not to be used either to prevent or to effect their return. The resolution probe set up to deal with the prisoners of war.

Mr. Krishna Menon moved the resoluti n with great eloquence. It was carefully phrased in conciliatory terms, and it seemed

Tear them off, Ladies!

MORE gold has been poured into our number of gold rings sent to us for sale for the PN Fund has doubled, bringing the total units. up to two and thus increasing our gold imborts by 100 per cent, compared with the corresponding period of last year.

This time a lady sent us her grand-mother's wedding ring, which, she says, was saved from "the terrible destruction during an air-raid over Mannheim." So the ring sanatari are sizeald in order to help ring an air-raid over Mannheim." So the the cause of peace. We wish all human beings were as sensible.

that we have no desire to cling to the gold standard. All forms of treasure which would fetch anything at the jeweller's, antique of the standard or our segum are antique dealer's, junk shop or museum are welcome.

By way of inducement—this seems a good way of getting rid of treasures you don't want. Most families have these—presents from Most families have these productions which, the loving friends and relations which, though loving friends and relations which, though possessing exchange value, give you a Pain in the aesthetics. There's always a market for horrors. Then there are the redundants: I'm sure some of you had several some of table mats for Xmas—and several sets of table mats for Xmas—and what sets of table mats for Xmas—and slices about all those silver-plated fish-whick you had at your wedding, some of are still unpawned?

At this moment I am haunted by that memorable scene in 15th century Florence, when, stirred by Savonarola's preaching against luxury, wealthy Florentine ladies brought their jewellery into the market-bonfire. bonfire,

It inspires entrancing visions of ladies rings, into PN office, tearing off their rings, brooches, wrist-watches and whatdesk and flinging them on to Harry Mister's sking it even untider than it is.

1339 short of our 1952 target.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Total autions since Dec. 19: £150 3s. 11d.

Please Nake cheques, etc., payable to Pra Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News,

Blackstock Road, N.4.

port for it.

The representative from South Korea spoke immediately afterwards and called for an intensification and continuation of the war until the Communist forces were driven out and the whole of Korea was united. Mr. Anthony Eden then gave his general support to the Indian resolution and suggested it would be improved by a couple of minor alterations.

For two weeks this resolution was de-With minor amendments it was bated. supported by practically all of the delegations with the exception of those from the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern bloc who strongly opposed it.

Country after country spoke in favour of the voluntary repatriation of prisoners, admitting at the same time that this was a novel procedure.

Vyshinsky's criticism

Mr. Vyshinsky repeatedly criticised the Indian resolution and proposed an amended version. He emphatically opposed the granting of the right to prisoners to refuse to be repatriated as being contrary to all international law and historical usage.

He gave numerous examples in support of his argument. He declared that the prisoners had already been maltreated and intimidated by the forced screening to which they had been subjected and should not be exposed to further questioning. He claimed that many North Korean and Chinese prisoners, alleged to have refused repatriation, had already been sent into the South Korean and Chiang Kai-shek

He further said that the Indian resolution did not call for a cease fire and stressed that the main object before the Committee was to bring to an end the fighting and its accompanying slaughter and destruction in Korea. If the resolu-tion was adopted in its present form it would still leave the way open for further protracted negotiations and meanwhile there would be more killing, more destruc-tion and more prisoners. He stressed the need to call explicitly for a cease fire.

At one stage of the debate he reminded Menon that the Peking radio had stated that the Chinese and North Koreans had repudiated Mr. Menon's proposals and were in favour of his, Mr. Vyshinsky's, resolution.

Mr. Vyshinsky proposed that the belligerents as well as neutrals should be represented on the Committee to be set up by the General Assembly, and that it should be empowered to settle not only the prisoner of war question but also the unification of Korea and other outstanding questions.

Krishna Menon's reply

Mr. Menon replied to Mr. Vyshinsky's criticisms. He said that if his resolution was carefully examined it would be found to cover all the points that Mr. Vyshinsky had raised. That the Draft Armistice had raised. That the Draft Armistice Agreement dealt with provisions for the unification of Korea and other questions which he had purposely omitted. He repeatedly said that the Indian resolution was intended to be and was in fact a cease fire resolution. He refused to amend his resolution any further.

After two weeks' debate, on December 1, the Indian resolution was adopted with a few minor amendments, 53 voting for 5 against, with 1 abstention. Nearly every delegation present had taken part in the debate. It was obvious that most of them desired an immediate end to the war in Korea and that they believed that the adoption of the Indian resolution would open the way for the adoption of the Armistice Agreement, which in turn would

result in a cease fire. On December 3, the Indian resolution was submitted to the General Assembly. Just before it was to be voted on Mr. Menon proposed on amendment to the preamble to add the words "so that an immediate cease fire would result and be effective". Thus this most disputed clause was added at the last minute and the resolution as a whole was adouted by the General Assembly. 54 voting for, 5 against

with 1 abstention.
On December 5, the President of the General Assembly cabled the resolution to the Chinese and North Korean Governments.

HAMBURG

By Sam Walsh

The writer, who has been described by the Bolton Evening News as "one of two vest known men in Bolton" has recently left the Lancashire town in which he has lived for 50 of his 55 years to live in

He fought and was wounded in World War I-"I strode eagerly to enlist in the army, at the Town Hall, when I was 18, and rode repully in a bath chair from the Informary home on may 21st birthday," he has written.

Until he left Bolton in December 1952 he was president of the local Branch of the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association.

Friendship with a German ex-serviceman who fought in the trenches across no-man's land has meant two visits to Hamburg for Sam Walsh.

NOW that even the Hauptbahnhof housest to this area (Central etation) has been presented in the contract of th (Central station) has been re- mean paint, flowers roofed, the visitor to Hamburg may and be excused for thinking that the striped umbreitas largest city in Western Germany was of waterside restaurants, and sees only little damaged in the war.

furthered its restoration programme resulting, gets an incomplete picture, markably. This is best appreciated by A corrective is the journey by Elbe, the Alster.

From the beautiful backwater at Streekbrucke landing-stage the Alster broadens, the dreadful ordeal Hamburg suffered. into a 400-acre lake lined with parks and gardens and fine houses such as the new White House which is the American Embassy. Yachts, canoes and school row-ing fours compete for the passenger's attention as he gazes through the windows of the

comfortable motor-boat.

Thousands of tons of bomb-blasted bricks have been tipped to further the project of widening the bridge where Outer and Inner Alster meet: but the visitor who confines

ONE WORLD

The following passage from "Les Temps Modernes" by J-P Sartre has been translated for Peace News by Alex Comfort.

BUT tell me seriously, Camus, what did Rousset's revelations (concerning conditions in Russian prison camps) produce in the hearts of anti-Communists? Despair? Suffering? Shame at being human? It is hard enough in all conscience for a Frenchman to put himself in the shoes of a Turkmenian to feel sympathy for any being as abstract as a Turkmenian seen from France. At the highest level, I will admit that the memory of the German prison camps did awake a very genuine and very spontaneous kind of horror in the best of them. And, of course, a certain amount of fear.

Now in the absence of any real personal relationship with the Turkmenian, what should have provoked our indignation, and possibly our despair, is the idea that a socialist government, depending on an army of officials, should have been able systematically to reduce men to slavery. But that consideration doesn't touch the anti-communist—he already believes that Russia is capable of anything. The only feeling which these revelations awoke in him is—and I find it painful to say this— joy. Joy that at last he had prouf of his thesis, and now we should see what we should see . . . For to my mind the scandal of the prison camps puts us all on trial. the form of a cross. These are bare exected as well as me. And everyone else. for 18 transverse signboards, each bearing the iron curtain is only a mirror, and the name of one of Hamburg's suburbs. each half of the world reflects the other half. Every turn of the screw here means a tightening-up there. In the end. between here and there, we are both squeezers and squeezed. A stiffening in America, expressed as a recrudescence of the witch hunt, provokes a stiffening n Russia, expressed, perhaps, by an inten-sification of the arms drive, and more forced labour. The converse can ne equally true. Anyone who dispenses con-demnation today should know that our situation will compel him, tomorrow, to do worse than the things he is condemning. And when I see that funny joke posted up on the walls 'Spend your holidays in Russia, the country of liberty,' t is not the Russians I find ignoble."

Non-violent resistance TO THE EDITOR

THE heatification of Mgr. Apor, Bishop of Gyor, in Hungary has been under consideration at the Vatican. When Ailied troops entered Gyar in 1945,

many women sought shelter in the Hishop's residence, A number of soldiers demanded entry.

Mgr. Apor stood guard and refused to move. Several shots were fired and the Bishop was killed on the spot. The soldiers then went away.

What a classic example of non-violent resistance. If Mgr. Apor had tried to defend these women by physical violence be could not possibly have saved them. As it was he sacrificed his life for them and the soldiers were so moved by this that they left the women unbarmed.
MICHAEL J. BANDLE,

Little Gatton, Reigate. (Other letters on page five)



the gany

the orilliant facades presented by the Atlantae or Reichshot hotels, the kuthaus Since I was there in 1949, Hamburg has and the snopping centre of the Jungtern-

A corrective is the journey by electric approaching the city centre from Eppen-dorf, along that handsome tributary to the reconditioning there stretches a very differreconditioning there stretches a very different vista-whole districts devastated so disastrously that one is staggered afresh at

From these miles of squalid ruins I accompanied my 1914-1918 ex-enemy friend, Martin Schroder, to the suburb of Odlsdorf. There was a prospect of avenues of tall trees and the formal beauty of landscape gardening in spacious parkland. High upon a curious piece of architecture was a clock-face whose enigmatic inscription, "One of these," became clear in its context of cemetery and crematorium.

Ohlsdorf cemetery, reputed to be the third largest in the world, has its own bus service at half-hourly intervals, carrying mourners and others around its vast extent, with halts at each of its 13 churches.

Only rarely does the visitor catch glimpses of the rows of graves characteristic of cemeteries. A profusion of trim bushes, long stretches of artificial waterways, natural streams crossed by custle bridges and wide avenues flanked by green slopes backed by tall trees transform this colossal cometery into a pleasant resort.

But not even the lovers whose regular rendezvous Ohlsdorf is, happily headless of the crematorium clock's grim warning that "One of these" hours will be their last, remain oblivious of one striking feature of this last resting place.

Not far from the graves of members of the German resistance movements of 1918-1920 and 1933-1937, and of Hamburg fire-men who died fighting the flames of the firebomb raids of 1943, there rises a slim slab of grey concrete—a gaunt perpendicular of 15 iron-grilled rows of seven marble urns each.

These 105 urns contain no human remains so far as is known. Their contents are soil from the ill-famed German concentration camps, a list of which is inscribed below the dates 1933-1945.

At the extreme end of Ohlsdorf cemetery there are four grass-covered mounds, not unlike long, narrow bowling greens, set in the form of a cross. These are bare except for 18 transverse signboards, each bearing

These are the mass graves of the city's 100,000 citizens who perished in the airraids of the second world war.

Bordering these huge graves are minia-

ture crosses commemorating some of these individuals. The scores of crosses I inspected all here the same date, July 27 - 28 The biggest number of names I found on any one cross was 10, all of one family.

The cemetery bus takes a winding road to the twin British sections,

On one side of a broad, tree-lined avenue are thousands of small, grey-blue grave-stones, with a monument of a khaki clad soldier, his back towards the entrance gates, as if in rebuke of any morely curious sightseer. On plain columns flanking this entrance, in German and English respec-

tively, is inscribed:—
"Here rest soldiers of the British,
Empire who died in Germany during the
Great War 1914-1918. The land which is consecrated by their graves has been acquired in perpetuity by agreement with the German people and the city of Hamburg so that their remains may be hon-oured for ever."

I reflected on these words as I stared across the avenue at a roughly equal number of miniature white-painted metal crosses marking the graves of a second generation of British youngsters who died during the 1939-1945 war

In straight rows, so perfectly dressed on the newly mown green sward as to brighten the eye of any inspecting seneral tressurrounded and quietly beautiful in the set-ting sun, they brought ruefully to mind Richard Aldington's words: "You can say what you like against the Army, but they treat you like a gentleman, when you're dead."

Briefly . . .

AUTHORS AND GANGSTER FILMS

". When you were standing up there, with the yun in your hands, what did you think you were like!

"Craig-replied in a whisper 'Just like the films"...
"'What sort of films used you to see?'—
'Gangster films.' 'Did you like that sort?'—'Yes, sir'"

THIS passage from the hearing of the Craig case is quoted by the Authors' World Peace Appeal in announcing that they are to hold a Conference on Sunday, January 11, to discuss the dangers such films may represent in spreading a worship of brute force.

Details about the Conference, which is to be held at the OEA Hall, 164 Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.1, starting at 10 a.m. may be obtained from the Secretary, AWPA, 50 Old Brompton Road, S.W.7.

QUAKERS AT WORK

A NEW illustrated pamphlet issued by the Friends' Service Council, "From the Nameless to the Nameless," describes the work which Quakers are doing in distributing clothing to refugees in Western Germany, where "thousands are sunk in apathy and resignation after six or seven years of unemployment."

Gifts of clothing have been coming in well in recent months, but money is badly needed to pay for despatch and distribution,

and to help in other Quaker relief work.

The pamphlet is obtainable free of charge from the FSC, Friends' House, Euston Road,

ESSAY COMPETITION

N international essay competition on National Sovereignty," open to all who were 30 years of age and under in 1952, is announced in a recent letter to the Press from the Federal Educational and Research Trust, 20 Buckingham Street, Lon-

The subject is divided into three sections, and entrants are asked to discuss (a) whether national sovereignty is a cause of war; (b) how far it has already been merged by nations; and (c) to what extent,

if any, it should be further curtailed.

Entries should not exceed 4,000 words, and the closing date is March 31. Further particulars can be obtained from the Trust at the address above.

Pacifists in Denmark may arrange for an appeal to the High Court in the case of Jens Vesterbaard who has been sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment (reduced to 60 days on appeal) for refusing to undertake Civil Defence work as an alternative military service. There is recognised alternative service work open to those registering as war-resisters in Denmark but this has been denied to Jens Vesterbeard.

The war-time experiences of an American conscientious objector form the background for a novel by Robert E. Wilson, "Aideen MacLennon," published by Fellowship Publications (AFoR) 21, Audubon Avenue, New York 32, USA, at \$2.75.

The author (a Quaker) draws largely from his own experiences in Civilian Public Service Camps, fire-fighting and in a mental hospital and on post-war relief work.

A Peace Centre has been opened at the Friends' Meeting House, North Street, Barking. Every Friday from 7 to 9 p.m. the Centre will be open to give information regarding methods of working for peace through the various pacifist organisations.

Germans welcomed in Stalingrad

INGEBORG KUSTER, a well-known German pacifist, recently spent three weeks in the USSR as a member of a delegation from East and West Germany, and is describing her experiences in a series of articles in "Das Andere Deutschland,"* the German pacifist fortnightly which is edited by her husband, Fritz Küster.

The delegation consisted of scientists artists, journalists and one of two workers representatives, members of various politi-cal parties and of none, and in her first neticle Mrs. Küster speaks of the warm welcome which they received everywhere— even in Stalingrad, which was besieged for 900 days by the Germans during the last

They saw only one military parade during their stay, which coincided with the anniversary of the October Revolution, and noticed that there were no war toys in the shops.

Mrs. Küster says that she saw Stalin at close quarters on two occasions, and he struck her as being very simple and

* Gnothestr, 41, Hanover. Price 66 Pfg. for 2 issues.

Domestic service problem solved According to the Secretary of State for War, at a large camp in the North of England ten per cent. of the conscripted men were acting as officers' servants.

An anonymous donation to the PN Fund of 61 from Uckfield, Sussex, is gratefully acknowledged.

Children's Librarian had a good idea

GOODWILL FROM ACROSS THE SEAS

RS. NORA DINMORE, children's librarian at Ilford (Essex) Central Library, has found a novel and attractive way to promote goodwill and understanding between the children of this country and those of other lands across the seas.

Every year, Mrs. Dinmore, young and pen-friends in England. "I don't know and in 1952 she was hard-pressed for a good idea. Then, late in October, she hit up n the solution—get together a collection of Christmas cards from every country on the

So she set to work, posting off letters and greetings to libraries in Africa, America, Asia, Australasia and Europe. And, almost by return of post, the replies came pouring in: letters, cards, photographs, paintings—everything the children could think of, however remotely connected with Christ-

From Hiroshima

From little Yoshiaki Kawakani in Hiroshima: "Let us study very hard and promise to be fine nations." A schoolby in Tokyo: "I am happy to shake hands with you and to tell you that I am a most willing and affectionate friend . . .

Every painted message a masterpiece, the most encouraging response came from a library in Barcelona. The children's librarian there thought that to send the children's greetings by post would take too long, so, ten day before Christmas, two Spanish ladies walked into Ilford Library carrying a huge parcel.

Inside were marvellously drawn and painted Christmas cards, hardly the sort of work one would expect from children. As Mrs. Dinmore says: "They are head-and-shoulders above the rest of the children, with their talent. I should not like the job of picking out the best."

From a small Maori schoolboy in Rangitoto ("the land of the long white cloud") came a primitive but beautiful painting of a native pah, showing the settlement with its backcloth of the cloud resting over an extinct volcano.

A hundred Indian children signed their names to a greeting from Delhi. They have no Christmas in India, but wanted to have

Storm at Trades Council meeting

JACK NUTLEY, a well-known pacifist, and NUR delegate on the Tonbridge Trades Council, was the centre of what the local Press described as a storm at a recent meeting of the Council.

The Chairman announced that it was pro-

posed to accept an invitation to send a delegate to the Tonbridge Territorial Association, if only so that the Trades Council should know what was going on at meetings.

Jack Nutley immediately jumped up to protest. "In the first case," he said, "that would be spying. Secondly, I am against war. Any war involves the destruction of the working classes, and we shouldn't associate with anything connected with war. It is the work of the devil."

Other members said they thought they

should have a member on the committee, in order to look after the interests of members who would be serving in the forces. One member said he owed his life to the parcels sent by the T.A. and the Red Cross when he was a prisoner during the last war, and he wanted to be able to help people in another war.

The motion to send a representative to the committee was carried with one dissentient.

COUNCIL'S "YES" TO MRS. MALTBY

CREWE Council reversed a decision of the Library Committee, passed by one vote, not to accept the offer of free copies of Peace News for 12 months.
PN was offered to the Library Committee

free by a local reader, Mrs. A. E. Malthy. "We have become rather suspicious of the word 'Peace,' "said Mr. C. E. Elson during the course of the Council discussion that led to the acceptance of Mrs. Malthy's

The National Council for Civil Liberties has written to the St. Ives Town Council raising the question of the Council's refusal to accept a regular donated copy of Peace News for the Library.

Training Chaplains too!

From John Hoyland, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

THE "Christian Century" records the decision of the American Air Force to train its own chaplains instead of taking on men trained in the ordinary theological colleges.

Thus the agency responsible for dropping the atomic bombs in 1945, with all the subsequent bedevilments which have sprung therefrom, takes upon itself the responsibility of training teachers of the religion of Jesus Christ!

lively, arranges some sort of interesting how I shall make out their names and exhibition for her children at the library, addresses," laughs Mrs. Dinmore, "but we'll try to do it somehow. We don't want to disappoint any of the children.

She has arranged all the cards in the library for the youngsters to see, together with a map. Every time a letter is de-livered, Mrs. Dinmore marks the place on the map. There are many empty spaces, but she expects to fill most of them by the New Year.

Dr. Raven protests at Rosenberg sentence

THE Rev. Professor Charles E. Raven, President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, is supporting the appeal against the sentence of death passed in America on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were found guilty of espionage last

In a letter to the sponsors of the appeal he describes the verdict as savage, and says that it "underlines the conviction that America, instead of leading the world to a more righteous and liberal way of life, is becoming so hysterical in its dread of Communism as to betray the very principles upon which the Constitution was founded."

CARAVAN OF SCOTLAND

The Caravan of Scotland has now been inaugurated. Readers interested should write to the Chairman, Dr. D. R. Saggar, Satyagraha, 26 Byron Road, Dundee, Satyagraha, 26 Angus, Scotland.

WHAT SHALL I TELL MY BOY?

Daddy, do all big boys become soldiers for a little while?

What shall I answer?

What shall I tell my questioner, with the wide-open eyes? Shall I say yes, he can look forward to soldiering-like school and cricket, and marriage and voting?

Shall I tell him yes, we have to kill others to live? That to enjoy our standard of living we have to burn villages in Korea?

Shall I tell him we have to learn to kill people methodically and cleanly, almost without dirtying our hands—as with guided missiles?

Shall I give him an idea of our great country devoting the largest single seg-ment of its national energies to the manufacture of ruin?

What happens when a man dies. Daddy?

Irrelevant!

He'll have to brush his teeth regularly so be'll pass the medical examination.

He must be fit, if he is to burn Asians from the vine. He may have to climb Heartbreak Hill over and over again.

And he'll have to study. He has only about 12 years to learn how to count and master his geometry lessons. Then, basically, he'll know how to navigate to

A gun, perhaps, is in order for Christmas. He shouldn't grow up feeling alien in our culture. He should have a consistent framework for his life (and death). He must have no inner conflicts, but instead a sense of purpose and meaning.

There's mo use kidding him, or making him feel uncomfortable.

Yes, son, hig boys do seem to become soldiers for a little while, now.

Where have we arrived when all this sounds so matter of course?
Why does the "now" sound so per-

manent? -Peace Action.

AN ANARCHIST AT THE C.O. TRIBUNAL

By MARY WILLIS

S it is seldom that an anarchist appears before a tribunal for A conscientious objectors, I am devoting my report this week to the hearing of one, who shall be nameless, who appeared at Fulham on December 12, 1952.

He described himself as an ex-student. The Chairman, Judge Sir Gerald Hargreaves, opened the case by reading the applicant's written statement, in which he

"My objection is based on my awareness that I am the sole moral authority governing my own actions, that I can know no other truth than personal truth, no reality other than personal reality; that I, a unique individual creating a personality through chosen gestures, bear responsibility for my choice, am free to choose, and that any action chosen which does not correspond to personal truth is an offensive impurity,

"State would choose my enemy"

"To choose to perform military service would be to choose the role of a soldier, involving the duty to kill the 'enemy' indicated by one's superior officer.

"The State would choose my enemy for me, but the State is not a moral authority for me, not even a personal reality, save as a physical force, and cannot know who is my enemy.

"My enemy only becomes such through my personal choice.

I cannot identify a real personal 'cause' with a 'national cause.'
"I accept all the consequences of my

conscientious objection to military service, even if such consequences include a restriction by force of my personal liberty."

Mr. Tudor Davies: You don't believe in community living at all?

Applicant: No.
Mr. T. D.: On what grounds are you basing your objection, then? You say "! cannot identify a real personal cause with a national cause." You don't believe in the will of the majority?

A: I do believe that it is efficient. Chairman: You believe that you ought not to obey any law that you don't agree with? And nobody else ought to obey any laws that they don't agree with either?

Chairman: Then it is no use making laws

A complete betrayal

Mr. T. D.: Are you an anarchist? A: I don't like to apply such a label to myself, it means so many things.
Mr. T. D.: But that is what you are?

Chairman: Ought you to take advantage of the statute under which you are coming to us if you don't agree with that statute? It seems as if you are quite willing to tious objectors.

accept those laws if it is to your advantage. You see, if we exempt you, nobody can take

A: I don't look at it that way. So far, during my life, I have been making an exchange with an external force which is Society; but I do not feel myself to be part of it. Society has given me certain things, provided I do certain things. That is what I am doing now. And then suddenly tells me I must do something which is complete self-betrayal to me.

Chairman: It does not seem to me consistent when you say: "I am quite willing to take advantage of any law if I get exemption from it, but I won't accept it if it does not suit my point of view." What it does not suit my point of view." Whal would be consistent would be if you were to move about the country and avoid being called up by keeping out of the clutches

A: I think I am being quite consistent-

Not interested in degree

Mr. T. D.: What are you an ex-student of? A: French.

Mr. T. D.: What were you reading it for A: Out of interest. I was a student a ... College. I wanted to be able to spend a certain number of years reading, and generally leading the kind of life I like to lead, without having to work and without having to spend a lot of time which would be wasted from my point of view.

Mr. T. D.: Without having to work! Rev. Prof. James: How did you live A: I had a grant from the Borough

Prof. J.: You undertook to read for all honours degree?

A: Yes. I did two years, and have just done a year's teaching in France.

Prof. J.: But you did not complete the course?

A: No, because I consider now that I have got the things I wanted on the subject and read the language fluently. I more or relief know what I want to do with my French and what I want to do with my French and what I want to read, and I am not in terested in the degree as such.

Mr. T. D.: Do you belong to any political party. Or any pages oversaid to any political

party, or any peace organisation?

A: No organisation at all.

Chairman: We cannot take the view that this applicant has listened to his conscient.

He is obviously prepared to at all. He is obviously prepared to advantage of something if it is to his avantage, and not if it does not suit We are satisfied that his objection is not conscientious one, and direct that his name be removed from the register of consolar tions objects. Lett "The Quee

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the Editor Letters to

"The Queen's Inheritance"

IT is a pity that a nation cannot even keep Christmas from the tentacles of politi-cal propaganda. The BBC programme entitled "The Queen's Inheritanco" and described as "a world-wide sequence of Christmas greetings and goodwill" was nothing better than an hour of blatant militant, impossibly the sequence of perialistic propaganda, interspersed with a script written and read in the worst possible taste. Every aspect of Commonwealth hife was covered, from impressing upon us the virtue of our fight against Communists in Korea and Malaya to describing in lurid detail atrocities committed by these Communists.

Two major things seem to have been forgotten: one is the immense potential value behind an International exchange broadcast and the other is the Christian duty-especially at Christmastide-to show goodwill even to those who "know not the Lord." I do not understand the mentality that can condemn Communist peace moves such as the Vienna Congress and at the same time rise and sing "Peace on earth, goodwill to-wards men" when churning out imperialiste propaganda and wishing good military success to the United Nations troops involved in a bloody war against their fellow men in Korea.

The author of the poster outside St. Martin-in-the-Fields stating "Xmas means nothing, Christmas means everything," has revealed a very profound deficiency in to-day's so-called "Christian Society." Unfortunately Christ and all he stands for is, in the minds of too many of us, no more than an X whilst Christmas is merely a time to make fatuous, good-looking resolutions.

MICHAEL VOELCKER.

20, Gerald Road, S.W.1.

-and her Chaplain

PACIFISTS can work noisily or quietly, both ways being excellent. A super-lative way of working quietly must be the tem in Peace News, on August 22, 1952: "Canon Charles Raven, President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has been appointed a Chaplain to the Queen." To me this is the most interesting thing in that issue. I would have liked a full-width headline, front page, with columns of "all about it." And inside more columns of opinions and reactions.

In the meantime it will have to remain a conundrum (along with others) how in this case the British Government can

honour and endorse an active pacifist.

ALEC C. BEASLEY.

R.R. I, Winfield, B.C., Canada.

Truce in Korea

I CANNOT understand how Peace News, has failed to seize on the admirable sug-Restlons made in the recent Foreign Affairs Dehate by Mr. P. Noel-Baker, when replying to the Government on the topic of

Could the truce be taken in two dages, both to be completed before the political conference began? The first stage would be a cease-fire, on the basis agreements already made. After all, the practical arrangements for supervising the truce have all been settled. The the prisoners' return. Orly when that, 'n, was settled, would the political coufewence begin . . . I should have though

Hoddesdon 2892

R. J. BAILEY

that once the fighting had stopped, the chances of getting agreement on the

prisoners would be increased.' This sounds the most practical and am ceptable suggestion yet put forward.
J. SCOTT MATHESON,

N "Behind the News," (PN Dec. 5) issue, there was an expression of opinion which has appeared in other pacifist papers It is a suggestion that the USSR is not entirely averse to the continuation of the war in Korea; that it "would seem to suit Russian tactics" because it ties up "Western forces in the Far East.

If there is no sound basis for these statements, the making of them is surely not in keeping with the pacifist spirit of reconciliation, especially in a paper called Peace News. But perhaps there is justification ignoring possible motives but on trying to based on knowledge "behind the news" for understand them.

the statements.

If this is the case, then I for one, would be given to receive rurther enlightenment on what seems a puzzling situation.

way, it the protongation of the Korean war suits Kussian taches, nave the Kussian truce proposals included an immediate cease fire?

And what are these supposed Russian tactics for which the cessation of the war would not be so good? Why is the USSR so destrous of keeping the Western powers occupied in Korea?

Have the Western powers just allowed themselves to be kept so occupied? And it so, why?

And what might Russia be supposed to imagine the Western powers would do if they were not occupied in Korea? DORA HOLDEN.

4 Stone Lane, Worthing.

(One of the purposes of "Behind the News" is to assess what lies behind the various movements in the international situation. Reconciliation depends not upon

Unfortunately the cold was is a fact, and proposals. Editor.)

JANUARY 2, 1953, PEACE NEWS-5

it is surely obvious that it is to the advantage of the Soviet Union if the Western powers are involved in a conflict in the Far East, for this means a druin on their man power and a strain on their economic resources, as it also means, in the political sphere, at least the possible alienation of Asian sympathy in the face of such an ex-position of "democracy."

The Western powers continue the conflict partly to justify the original intervention by the United Nations, but mainly because (as Eisenhower and others have made quite plain) they regard the conflict as part of the all-out attempt to contain Communism.

In proposing an immediate cease-fire, Mr. Vyshinsky was able to claim to be the true apostle of peace, while knowing that there was no likelihood of his proposals being accepted by the U.N. Assembly. If the Russian Government are vitally concerned with bringing the war in Korea to an end, we have to ask why they rejected the Indian

—and a reply from the Editor

CO-OPERATION PACIFISTS AND PEACE FUK

A from those active in local peace committees have been published from time to time, but we get many more than we publish.

Publication of a greater number would not be justified, even it we had greater space at our disposal, because these letters are largely repetitive and make no attempt to understand the pacifist, as distinct from what is coming to be called the "Peace Movement" point of view.

One correspondent of this kind, concerned with the direction of a Peace Committee in one of the London areas, who frequently writes to chide us, informs us that he was brought into the Peace Movement in 1951 by the Stockholm Appeal, since when he has been a regular reader of Peace News.

He disagrees with the way in which Peace News space is utilised, however, bemuse be is not particularly interested in paclfi∗m.

Mr. Muste's questions

A letter from the Secretary of the Bristol Peace Committee, protesting at the views expressed in Peace News regarding the World Peace Council and the Vienna Congress, and particularly about Mr. Muste's letter to Mr. Joliot-Curie, appeared last week.

Mr. Muste's letter aimed at elucidating (if elacidating is something that is desired) the issues that must be in the minds of all who are asked to consider whether they can with value participate in a Conterence tions having vitally different points of view as to what is involved in the con-struction of Peace.

On the direction of these questions and the fact that they have produced no answer we shall have something to say later.

Having spoken, however, of Mr. Muste's of view that obtains. letter as showing how tragleally prevalent muddled thinking has become in our decaying society our correspondent goes on to say that the outlook is black indeed "if the innumerable little pages of the personal pledge: "I can be innumerable little pages of the personal pledge: "I can be innumerable little pages of the pages of the personal pledge: "I can be innumerable little pages of the personal pledge: "I can be innumerable little pages of the personal pledge: "I can be in the page of the personal pledge of the personal pledge." caying society our correspondent goes on to say that the outlook is black indeed "if the innumerable little peace movements in this country cannot at this most critical time in human history sink their petty

OSTEOPATH — NATUROPATH & BATE'S differences and unite on the main issue.

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time in human history shik there is differences and unite on the main issue.

It is on this example of clear think that is contrasted with Mr. Muste's not died thinking, that we wish to comment the comment of the various pacifist societies in It is on this example of clear thinking, that is contrasted with Mr. Muste's mud-

FAIR number of letters received country may still be little, but they are yoke;" they do not say: not immunerable. Chief among them are unless it be to defend Yugoslavia should the Peace Pledge Union, the Fellowship of the Cominform nations decide to attack Reconciliation and the Peace Committee of that people," they do not say: "I will not the Society of Friends, which represents

Quakers in the field of pacifist activity. There are some small pacifist societies attached to particular religions communions, such as the Methodist Peace Fellowship and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, which find no difficulty in co-operating within the framework of the Fellowship of Pacopariting within the same small pacifies. Fellowship of Reconciliation; and small bodies such as the Labour Pacifist Fellowship, and the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ, neither of which find any difficulty in co-operating with the PPU.

The differences which divide these various bodies into different groups may be petty, although those concerned probably feel they have a certain functional importance; these petty differences, how-ever, do not make impossible a very high degree of co-operation, for all these bodies come together with the greatest readiness when it is a question of uniting on "one supreme issue" and even on a number of questions that are not supreme.

Indeed they also have found it possible to unite over a long period with groups of people who, without being pacifists, claim to be working for peace, and this is an aspect to which we expect to return in a later article.

A petty difference?

In what sense then does our correspondent hold that the petty differences "of composed of representatives of organisa, the little peace movements in this country are keeping them apart? Does her complaint mean anything more than that it is keeping them apart from the British Peace Committee and the World Peace Council?

If this is what she means surely "petty" is a singular word to use for the difference

All the other hodies we have referred to above are founded on similar personal pledges. What those who are organised in these groups declare is that they will not

fight.
They do not say: "I will not fight unless dled thinking, that we wish to comment now. it be to liberate the peoples East of the feated she. The various pacifist societies in this Oder and the Danube from the Soviet elucidation.

the Cominform nations decide to attack that people," they do not say: "I will not fight unless by so doing I can see a way to help a neighbour people to free itself from the trammels of capitalist imperialist domination."

What they say is; "I will not fight," with rel- no "ifs" or "buts" to follow at all. It in may be urged that this is a wrong-headed point of view. It certainly is a point of view that—when war has arisen—has had very different results in action from those who disagree with it, in the past.

It is held to be wrong-headed by all pelitical parties in this country and many of those concerned with the promotion of World Peace Council conferences make it very clear that they would regard wrongheaded as a very mild word to use.

To help clear thinking

It can hardly be urged, however, that this is not the dominant difference in view that keeps the great majority of the world's pacifists apart from the network of the World Peace Council organisation; and to describe this difference as petty while professing to have an admiration for most of the views Poace News puts forward, is surely something lacking in candour.

Such a difference, however, petty or not, is a difference that, according to our correspondent, should be subordinate to "the one supreme issue." This issue is "that of defeating the small but powerful section who have given such abundant proof that they will stop at nothing to preserve their profits

and privileges."

This then in the eyes of Miss Benn is the objective for which pacifists should unite with those who are opposed to pacifism.

As she has a commendable distaste for muddled thinking we wonder if she would give us a cleaver idea of who are comprised in this small and powerful section?

Presumably it includes Eisenhower, Tru-man and the "China Lobby." Does it in-clude Churchill, Attlee and Clement Davies? Does it include Marshall Tito? Did it in-clude the late Slansky and Clementis?

We shall in any case be returning to the consideration of this subject; but if the Secretary of the Bristol Peace Committee will give us more precise information as to the extent of the small group to be defeated she may help us in our attempt at

Notes for your Diarys

right this is a free service, we reserve the in. We select for publication notices sent move nevertheless desire to make it as nevertheless desire to make it as nevertheless desire to make a merice as we reasonably can, therefore urgo organisers of events to: Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

place (hall street); nature of went speakers, organisers (and that order and style. 2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time,

Sunday, January 4

ONDON, SW1: 3.15 p.m. Denison Ho. Burken Bridge Rd. (n. Victoria); Marchall service "The Unity of Life;" It is by Rev. G. P. T. Paget King; Religion Commission.

Wednesday, January 7 Wednesday, January 1 Individual 7 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Joseph Personal Beliefs concerning the Peaceti Society talk by Will Par-sed dispussion - Phys.

Standard Society law by which was the standard Standard Society law by the standard So htt Thursday, January 8

Ada FAX: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.

July Bublic meeting; Sir Hichard

Mp. War on Want'', SoF and

The Fields open air mig; Syhli Morrison Herdis open air mig; Syhli Morrison Horniman: Plet open Horning on "The Mari Barth"; PPU.

Saturday, January 10 London, Well 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard by the Bendsleigh St.; business mtg. and latter Physics on Religion Commission: RUGBY: 3 p.m By 3 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Re-public mtg., Sybil Morrison on wants peace in Korea?"; PPU und (Altered accangements.)

Monday, January 12

COVENTRY: 7.36 p.m. 87 Stoney Stanton Ed.: play reading: PPU, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m. Breaket House, Lovaine Row; Grigor McClelland on "Russian and China through pacifist eyes"; PPU, 7.36 p.m. Church Ho., 3; pacifist eyes"; PPU, SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Church Ho., 3s. James' St., 1; Rev. Donald Streat on South Africa; PPU,

Tuesday, January 13 BRIGHTON: 7.15 p.m. Friends' Centre. Ship St. (near GPO); PPU Group meeting all pacifists invited.

Thursday, January 15 Thursday, January 15
CRAWLEY: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., ffield; public mtg: Hugh Faulkner—" Seeing for Myself in Russia": For.
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd.: Reginald Sorensen, Mf., on his American tour; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lnicoln Inn Fields; Open sir mtg. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horuman; PPU.

Saturday, January 17 PPH London Area Annual "Get To-gether" at Westminater Friends Meeting Hause. Details later.

Sunday, January 18 PORTSMOUTH: 8 pm. Wesley Central Hall: public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner "See-ing for Myself in Russia; FoR, SoF and Peace Council. Monday, January 19

HASTINGS: 7.45 p.m. Central Methodial Church Hall, Cambridge Rd.; publicate: Hagh Faulkner Seeing for Myself in Russia ; FoR. Thursday, January 22nd LONDON, W.C.2: 12.80 p.m. Luicoln Inn Felds: Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Hornman; PPU.

Sunday, January 25
TUNHRIDGE WELLA: Harrington's
Cafe Five Ways; 11.30 am PPU Area
AGM: 2.15 pm. Dr. A. N. Tucker—The
Situation in Africa.

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MEETINGS

MEETINGS

DR. A. D. BELDEN preaches 11 and 6.30 Queen's Park Cong. Church, Harrow Rd., W.10. Sunday, Jan. 4.

FILMS for War and Peace, Vital Conference called by Film Panel Authors World Peace Appeal. Hunday Jan. 11.
10 a.m. 164 Shaftesbury Ave., W.C.2, Visitors 2a. 6d.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Buth, Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

ROSENBERG DEFENCE COMMITTEE, Rally to Clemency Meeting for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Mon. Jan. 5, 7 p.m. Comway Hall. Spenkerst Mr. Bidney Silverman MP, Percy Belcher, J. G. Cruwther and Mrs. Lesh Manning (Chair).

SPHRITUAL. COMMUNIST Congress, monthly meetings, Mondays 8 p.m. Jan. 5, Feb. 2 and March 2. Holborn Hall. Grays Inn Rd., W.C.I. Talks by Swami Ayyaktannada.

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FEACE WORK is available for all voluntears at Peace News office. Bay-time and every Wednesday everying we shall be grantful for help. Welte, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAmford Hill 2989), a Reackstock Read (shove Fest and Cook, Statiopers), Finsbury Park, N4 and Cook, Statiopers), Finsbury Park, N4

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"No modern war can be just"

Continued from page one

said that his client had been invited to Ceylon next year by the Trotskyist Party there (the second largest in the country). to assist in its political organisation.

"If the Tribunal considers that his is an example of an honest man putting an honest case for objection to military service, I plead that he is entitled to exemption.

The Tribunal did and Edward Grant was given conditional exemption.

He may also go to Ceylon next year for COs are still civilians and as such are en-titled to leave and return to this country at will.

No modern war can be just

A Catholic appellant, Gerald Parker, based his objection to military service upon the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas and the doctrine of the "just war."

Mr. F. C. Anderson, his solicitor, explained that this was in accord with the orthodox teaching of the Church. St. Thomas had held that wars could be either just or unjust and that it would be wrong for Catholics to participate in unjust wars.

The decision as to whether any particular war was just was left to individual conscience and in this instance Gerald Parker was of opinion that modern war could not be just because modern weapons of mass extermination made it inevitable that the guilty should suffer with the innocent.

As he saw it, no present or likely conflict could fulfil the requirements of a just war.

Mr. Parker was asked by the Tribunal if he did not consider that the good that might be achieved by war could not outweigh the evil attendant upon the means used to wage that war.

"No," he replied, "good ends do not justify evil means. If you give money to the poor, that is good; but if you steal the money from a bank in order to do so, then

PACIFIST VICAR

* Continued from page one

to him on this ground even if I had wished 10 (10 80.

Mr. Newell has commented that he is convinced that the pacifist issue is behind the Bisnop's objection and he recalls that when a benefice in the Bishop's diocese was offered to him previously the Bishop advised him not to go because a Major-

General was a church varden.
Holbrook Church Council passed resolution earlier this month that Mr. Newell was "not acceptable" because of his criticisms of the way Remembrance

services were conducted. Mr. Newell told the Press last week: "If this were a purely personal matter, I should almost certainly withdraw, but

there is an important principle involved.

"The villagers of Holbrook are going to organise a petition for me and I should be letting them down if I threw in my hand.

" A church council cannot seriously suggest that my pacifist views will prevent me from carrying out my duties to the parish."

People at Holbrook who disagree with the council's decision are to demand that the bishop should proceed with Mr. Newell's institution.

One of them, Mrs. Kathleen Simpson, of East-road, told a Daily Herald reporter "We think the vicar is a good man. Nearly every one in the village except the church council want him to come." at piercing our western moral complacency and pride; not, I think, by direct attack on governments, but by digging the ground for

St. Pancras. Neat, I thought."

very great evil, but if he could end a war by telling a lie, he should not do so, for the consequences of his action would be not

Page six

good but further evil.

Gerald Parker, who is a ward orderly in a London hospital, was given conditional exemption by the Tribunal.

Brian Jupp, a member of the Peace Pledge Union and a student at the London School of Economics, was sent back to prison to await the Tribunal's recommenda-

After serving in the Cadet Force at school and performing two years' military service with the Army he became convinced of the wrongness of war and consequently refused to do the annual training. He was court-martialled and given a sen-

tence of three months' imprisonment which enabled him to appeal to the Appellate Tribunal,

The Rev. Bentall, a Congregational minister, testified to the fact that his objection was sincerely held. Mr. Jupp is reading for a Doctorate in Philosophy.

Sent back to prison

Another Supplementary Reservist, Edward West, who served two years as a radio operator in the Tank Corps had come to pachist convictions after his discharge. He then wrote to his Commanding Officer saying that he could not continue with military training.

For his refusal to comply with the training notice he was subsequently arrested, court-martialled and imprisoned for period of six months, later reduced to

To kill, he believed, was an outrage not merely to the person killed, but against God himself who lived in that person. was informed that he would be notified later of the tribunal's recommendation.

DEADLOCK

"He (Mr. Truman) said there were three ways in which the present Korean stalemute could be ended. 1. The Communists could agree to a set thement on the fair terms we have outlined. 2. We could knuckle under on the issue of the prisoners and turn them over to be slaughtered. 3. We could pull out and let the South Koreans go to hell . . . On the question of stepping up the war in Korea Mr. Truman was not sanguine: We have been trying to stop the Communists without involving us in an all-out wavel the Far East. That was my primary reason for relieving General MacArthur, he wanted to involve us in an all-out war."

-Daily Telegraph. December 29, 1952 My purpose and desire was not to extend the war but to end it.

T is now eighteen months since Mr. are concerned, but in Korea there has new Malik's proposal that an attempt been anything else. should be made to negotiate a truc-

been brightly lit in the hearts and minds of country, and the tortured bodies all those involved in the bitter struggle-the soldiers in the fighting lines, the anxious waiting families and frands at home, the prisoners of war, and the tortured inhabitants of the devastated towns and countryside of Korea.

As the months of weary wrangling dragged on it must have been hard to keep the light of hope alive, and now ther; can be nothing but the dead grey ashes of despair.

The prolonged discussions about prisoners of war have been reported and publicised, yet amid all the great care and feeling expressed for those prisoners who might be returned to a cruel and wicked enemy only to be slaughtered, there has the prisoner question. Had this been organised by prisoners whose hopes of release from the worth trying, the world have been under the prisoner cannot be slaughtered, there has the prisoner question. Had this been organised by world Citizen prison camps of those same wicked enemies. over in the summer of 1951. must long have faded.

It is true that there is no "all-out" was so far as this country, America and Rus i

-General MacArthur, Daily Telegraph, December 29, 1952.

If "stepping up" the war mean attempting to drive up to the borders of Manchuria again, it can only be done over During those first weeks hope must have the torn and twisted remnants of a ruine wrecked and displaced human beings.

General MacArthur believed that by tending the war he could the more quickly end it; Mr. Truman seems to wish a could "step it up" without going "all out" for the same reason. The truth that those empowered to negotiate do not betieve in negotiation, they believe in win

Mr. Truman mentions three ways ending the stalemate, but forgets that there was once a fourth, and that was the original Provision original Russian proposals for a cease-fir and an eleven power commission to settle of which was

The real trouble lies in the tragil reliance on negotiation from strength when the real need is for a determined will to bring the war to an end. To cease first the first and paramount requisite, and the only decent humane action-after that the talks.

There are, of course, on both sides man wrongs, and perhaps a few rights, but it wronged people of Korea seem to have ceived no consideration at all. Mr. Trum thinks it wrong to let the South Korean go to hell," but there could scarcely be found on earth a worse hell than destroyed country of despair.

As each side has turned down the p posals of the other side, as the war dragged on, as the casualty lists appear and more and more prisoners are take the position becomes worse, not better The situation is no longer a stalounter is a deathly deadlock.

There is only one way to break it, and that is to announce a cease fire mediately. If it were known that United Nations had stopped the war. would not only add greatly to their prestubut would bring to their discussions moral power that would be very har indeed to resist.

To break a deadlock one side must give way, and that yielding maybe the brave action of all. This is not only the right way, and the good way, it is also the wa of plain commonsense.

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PEACE PLEDGE UNION RELIGION COMMISSION

Universalist Service The Unity of Life Discourse by the Rev. G. P. T. Paget Kind Sunday Jan. 1 at 3.15 p.m.

Denison House, 296 Vauxhalt Bridge Rd. (Near Victoria Stn.).

ublished from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, Printing Co., Ltd. (T.U.) London, N.18.

By Michael Tippett "Gaudhi-The Practical Peace-builder," by John Hoyland, Peace News Pamphlets, 6d.

THIS pamphlet is certainly welcome now that Gandhi's methods of non-violent struggle are being tested again in a great conflict, because for so many millions of our people Gandhi is as yet only a name, a myth, without any precise habitation or idea.

FOR PRACTICAL PEACE BUILDERS

People think of him as roughly the father tical saint, whose methods were only practicable because of the moral qualities of his capital M. opponents, us English.

Gandhi would have been unsure of such moral complacency, because he believed that if struggles were in truth on such a moral plane, then the methods of struggle would correspond to the degree of morality, i.e. that if the West really were so much morally better than Communism, that difference must show itself in the methods of the struggle also. He would not for a moment have admitted any moral argument which agreed to base its methods of struggle on those of its opponents, e.g. that the Russians only understood force; that the Africans are not fit for liberal ideas of punishment, but should suffer collective penalties that fall on guilty and innocent

This is still, in my opinion, the crux for us in the West. We are in great need of Gandhi, or of many, though lesser Gandhis, who will undertake Experiments with Truth. Such experiments whether factual or imaginative, social or psychological, would aim

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E.C.4

of Indian independence and a kind of poli- germination of the seed. The seed is a new truth about the idea of Man with a

Pamphlets such as this quietly written and emotionally sonable, are seeds to be scatter of in the wind. To the Peace News reader, I would say: Scatter them, scatter them. When they reach ground, it may well be that the conditions of the time are almost at the Agricus. ready at the digging.

Campaign corner

TARGET FOR 1953

THE Peace News circulation figure has registered a sharp decline in recent months. In a world where good sense is on the wane, it is imperative that we immediately set to work to repair the

At Christmas 1942 an entirely voluntary sales organisation distributed 18,000 Peace News weekly, in spite of all the war-time difficulties. Last week's "new low" of 11,000 copies included 4,000 handled by newsagents and over 2,000 single subscriptions—only 5,000 readers directly supplied by volunteer sellers—of whom there are certainly not more than 500, including these who draw supplies from newsagents.

First priority for 1953 is therefore a rapid expansion of our local since it is the keen individual readers who make new readers, it is primarily to them that we appeal. Personal example and effort are the secret of success. Peace News could never have started if pacifists had left the work to "the newsagents," "the groups," or even "the office," though each has a necessary part to play.

ou value Peace News-believe it has something vital to say to the world in 1953? Then you must put your belief into practice by devoting a few hours each week to increasing our sales, by doing a little more than you have done in 1952. The Peace Pledge Union's Campaign Com-

mittee is to put its main energies to this work for the next twelve months, and groups will find practical directions in the PPU Handbook which is to be published in the near future.

Meantime order-six or a dozen copies a week direct from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.1., ask for a supply of free back num-bers and order leaflets, and try door-to-door canvassing, street selling (posters available) covering local meetings, distributing to known sympathisers, taking all the opportunities that come your way of making new contacts.

opies for sale cost 3s. 3d. a dozen; for free distribution, 2s. 6d. a dozen, post free in each case. Monthly accounts are al-lowed and we will gladly send any information or advice you require. Our aim for 1953 is to double the voluntary

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